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ABSTRACT

In a controlled experiment, the IIEP attempted to develop efficient teaching materials in the field of educational planning. Informal instructional materials were compiled from the tape recordings, transcriptions, and summary notes of seminars, lectures, and discussions conducted by the IIEP in its training and research program. This instructional unit focuses on the planning needs of education systems in developing countries, especially the need to optimize the benefits of educational aid programs. Related documents are EA 003 931-942. (RA)

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No. 57 QUANTITY AND QUALITY IN THE PLANNING OF EDUCATIONAL AID PROGRAMMES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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QUANTITY AND QUALITY IN THE PLANNING OF EDUCATIONAL AID PROGRAMMES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

by

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The document is part of 'Fundamentals of Educational Planning: Lecture-Discussion Series', designed by the IIEP to provide basic training materials in the field of educational planning. By their very nature these materials, which draw upon tape recordings, transcriptions and summary notes of seminars, lectures and discussions, are informal and not subject to the type of editing customary for published documents. They are therefore not to be considered as 'official publications'.

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Planners and educational results

Educational planning in developing countries has long been the realm of economists, demographers, and statisticians. Their operations have generally been based upon the proposition that expenditures for education will produce desired manpower to meet economic demands and to achieve national economic progress.

Whether this has really been the case in the past 20 years is difficult to determine. As the Pearson Report reminds us, quantitative improvements in education "should not be allowed to conceal the very serious problems of quality" now prevalent in many developing countries.(1)

In most African and Latin American countries over half the pupils in primary schools do not return to school after the second year. Teachers in such schools are often themselves only primary school completers. They are poorly prepared and have little real knowledge of the needs of children and of how to educate them. In the secondary schools, curricula are focused primarily on academic methods and goals. Methods in these schools are devoted to repetition rote-learning and to the ingestion of facts and knowledge with little reference to the situation in society.

No more than 10 per cent of secondary school graduates enter a university, and there with the majority of students in law, letters, political science, and some engineering programmes, only a few ever graduate.

These are true circumstances and conditions in which technical assistance is provided. The remedies for such situations are sought by both parties: the donors and the recipients.

Pearson points out that:

> "Almost half of official technical aid is in the educational sector. About 85 per cent of this aid finances teachers, other educational staff or trainees, while the rest is devoted to school buildings, equipment, and other facilities."(2)

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(1) Lester B. Pearson, Partners in Development, Praeger Publishers, N.Y., 1969, p. 67.

(2) Ibid., p. 199.

And this aid has continued to rise over the years, both from unilateral and multilateral sources. The demand for aid has continued to grow and the general tendency is for developed countries and international agencies to attempt to meet the demand.

On the one hand, we see mounting technical assistance efforts(1), and on the other hand there is serious question as to the effectiveness of such efforts.

In his review of the Pearson Report, Michael Lipton generalizes that:

> "Nobody has yet found a statistically significant link between non-military aid per head ... and any combination of development indicators such as growth, equalization, employment, work-force, industrialization, etc. ... "(2)

He insists that of all aspects of technical assistance, the yields are most evident in agriculture and population policy, showing favourable returns in food production, employment, growth, and foreign-exchange self-sufficiency.

John Jewkes makes the point as forcefully:

> " ... unwarranted claims have been made as to the direct connexion between economic growth and expenditure on general education ... "(3)

The same point is made more specifically by M.S. Adiseshiah, Unesco Deputy Director-General:

> "There is no correlation between the rate of educational assistance and the rate of growth of GNP or per capita

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(1) The United States is first in net disbursements; Germany is second; France is third, and Japan is fourth. 1968 data: OECD, Development Assistance, 1969 Review, Paris, December 1969, p. 296.

(2) "Forward from Pearsonism", Bulletin, Institute of Development Studies (University of Sussex), December 1969, pp. 11-14.

(3) John Jewkes, The New Ordeal by Planning, Macmillan, London, 1968, p. 33.

income. There is no co-relation between educational aid and the trade balance of the country. Nor is there a relation between per capita education aid to Asian countries and their educational performances as judged by their planning mechanisms, ... the relation between educational output and market demand or other such indicators."(1)

Philip H. Coombs tells us that:

" ... despite their rapid expansion, educational systems have been unable to keep pace with the rising manpower demands ... Caught between rising demands and limited resources thinner and thinner ... The unhappy results have been tragically high drop-out and repeater rates and a widespread erosion of educational quality."(2)

It is recognized that school enrolments are increasing, but with problems of continuity. Pupils flood the first years of the primary level, but the rates of wastage are so great that many fall by the wayside. Eventually, no more than 10 to 15 per cent complete the first level. Of this number, perhaps 10 per cent enter the first cycle of the secondary level. More schools are being built, more teachers are being sought and, when found, trained. Secondary schools and universities are blooming where no schools were before. Planners have produced some change, but is it good enough?

The accumulation of testimony makes it necessary to look to improvement in the planning effort itself. With the continual expansion of technical assistance, educational planning requires challenge, testing and perhaps drastic overhaul.

The Draft Programme of Unesco for 1971/72 places strong emphasis on considerations of quality and the challenge to educational planners. Director-General Maheu states in this Draft:

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(1) "Educational Assistance in Asia: Programmes and Philosophy". Address given at the Fourth Asian Regional Conference of the WCOTP, Djakarta, 22 April 1969.

(2) Philip H. Coombs, "The Need for a New Strategy of Educational Development", in Richard Symonds (ed.), International Targets for Development, Faber and Faber, London, 1970, p. 137.

> " ... Educational planning must be concerned and used essentially as a technique and a strategy for achieving the objective conditions that are essential if a qualitative change is to be wrought in man as a social being."

He points out that the:

> "rethinking of educational planning ... is bound up, both in conception and in implementation, with the new ideas, techniques and methods upon which the real renewal of the content and process of education depends. Without losing contact with the economist - which ensures that his work has a proper place in the structures of society as it is - the educational planner is drawing closer to the educationist, without whom his ideas and projects can be no more than abstractions."(1)

Quality aspects in planning

Within the context of the foregoing, the nature of the planning process and the difficulties which beset planners as they undertake to juggle supply, demand, resources, and educational procedures can be examined. The elements which must be taken into account in educational planning are, evidently, in need of careful study so as to determine their real nature and their relationships to one another. Taken in all, the effectiveness of planning becomes, politics aside, a manifestation of such study and understanding.

In this regard, the aspects of quality in the elements cited, rather than their quantity alone, should become clear.

Basic to educational planning activity are the dual factors of national resources - actual and potential - (supplemented by technical assistance) and national policy for education. Policies on education are frequently expressed as the result of the complex matrix of traditions-and-trend, aspiration-and-mobility opportunity, economic and social class structures, and the existing political orientation and control.

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(1) Unesco, Draft Programme and Budget for 1971/72, Paris 1970, p. XIII.

By the concept of traditions-and-trend, I am referring to the underlying set of social and cultural assumptions and practices which prevail. When, as in some Latin American countries, the fundamental conditions are relatively fixed such as with regard to the role of women, the needs of farmers for education, the sense (or lack of it) of community, the determination of family roles of mother, father, children, grandparents, and thus, then the 'traditions-and-trend' condition is both stable and restrictive. Such conditions make a difference in social demand for education and provide little incentive for educational innovation, let alone diversity.

The 'aspiration-and mobility opportunity' concept refers to the inter-play between the drive for upward mobility, the intensity of such drive within large and growing segments of the population, and the opportunity which is available both politically and economically (not educationally, at this time) for such aspiration to be achieved.

Policies on education are, of course, derived or specifically formulated in terms of the clear presence or absence of such tendencies in some strongly indicated form: co-operative movements among farmers, being settlement - or 'invasion' upon landed property, large migratory movements to urban centres, etc. Such educational policies are given more specific form when account is taken of existing (and seemingly developing) economic and social class structures. We may note in some countries the 'prolitarianization' of the formerly marginally-employed city worker, or the crystallization of the relatively new merchant, i.e., 'middle' class, or the strong tendency of interested classes to become socially and politically more visible in the national picture.

The existing political orientation and control, being in decision-making hands, is exercised in the expression of appropriate educational goals, planning structures, and school systems.

This combination of forces in developing countries is brought to bear upon the educational planner so as to produce desires results in terms of base-line national conditions, vis-à-vis neighbouring States, and ultimately in relation to the norms of 'developed' countries.

Educational programmes, criteria, and even investments are thereby established as points from which to move forward. And the criteria may then be those base-line characteristics, qualitative or quantitative. It may also be not uncommon to seek to emulate bordering nations of similar cultural backgrounds and relatively similar resources. As for requiring that educational planners aim at the norms of 'developed' countries, such considerations are often not expressed generally, but may, especially as regards such limited areas as pre-primary education, special education for handicapped children, and education in the arts, be considered reasonable to aim at.

Thus, planners are faced with explicit policies (which become educational goals) in a number of aspects, and for each policy aspect, we note some of the qualitative elements which are explicit:

(a) The policy on full age-group enrolment:

Shall all children in the ages 6-11 be provided with education? This means a full primary programme in all villages as well as in towns and cities, a qualified corps of teachers, and sufficient classes with materials. To what extent is such policy (or specific goal) to be seriously pursued? What about this policy for older groups?

(b) The policy on features of the various educational structures: their length, their internal differentiation, teacher qualifications, their curricula, materials and educational processes, and their vocational targets:

How many years shall be offered? What subjects shall be taught? How many tracks? For what specific jobs? Who shall teach, and in what ways? Who shall administer, supervise, develop programmes and materials? These, too, are almost explicitly quality features and they reflect the choices which planners must be concerned with. Essentially, it is this 'process' aspect which determines the sense of system effectiveness that may not be readily quantifiable.

(c) The policy which determines the relationship of the primary level with the secondary level, and the 'rites of passage' between them:

What criteria shall be used for promotion? What is to be done about repeaters? How should drop-outs be reduced? What would happen if we insist upon (and provide facilities for) education for girls as for boys?

It is this policy which reminds us that goals and political decision for implementing planning may run aground upon the shoals of realism. All too numerous are the countries which are devoting over 20 per cent of the national budgets to education (often a major portion) and where school enrolments at the primary level alone are running under 40 per cent of the age-group.

(d) Policy decisions relating educational inputs and processes to the requirements of other national sectors and the priorities which result from such decisions:

How can more money and more qualified personnel be obtained? How can the work of the educational system be 'tuned-in' to that of the other sectors: agriculture, industry, transportation, health, etc.? What are the priorities for development of the educational system vis-à-vis those of other systems?

Criteria for quality in educational aid planning

Questions of policy thus become, for planners, questions of economics, population trends and movements and, with the collaboration of educators, feasible educational goals. It is when technical assistance is available or in the offing that policies and educational goals become transmuted into requests for programme support and that the processes inherent in the donor-recipient relationship come into play.

There is general agreement that education aid must be offered at the request of the developing country and not provided in an atmosphere of coercion. The maintenance of national sovereignty and the provision of aid within prevailing cultural contexts are

basic in such relationships. It is certainly not within reason for the donors of technical assistance to make demands upon economic priorities, educational goal-setting, or existing conditions of national life.

However, there is always the need to elucidate clearly the benefits to be derived by the recipient and those of the donor. Technical aid planning provides a stable market for the latter. It may tend to maintain peace, order and stability where crisis looms - and what developed country seeks turmoil and potential chaos? These and other considerations, including that of fraternal good-feeling among peoples, enter into the donor's view of educational aid planning.

From the recipient's standpoint, we note two guidelines proposed by Arthur J. Lewis:

> "1. External aid projects should be related to economic development, educational manpower development, social development, and institutional development.
>
> 2. External aid projects should be related to a nation's ability to make and to implement long-range plans for educational development."(1)

Such recipient-oriented guidelines for aid provide substantive support for quality focus in planning. Planners representing donors and recipients must work to go beyond the development of simply more schools, more teachers, greater enrolment, and more educational output. To subscribe to the concept that 'more is better' is to go beyond both common sense and feasibility. They must seek to reach for answers to: what kinds of schools, what kinds of teaching, what materials, what kinds of learning, and what is the ability of the educated output to perform as the goals of their educational systems require?

It is with such questions that education advisors find themselves frequently in the role of a 'loyal opposition' to planners and policy-makers in developing countries. Advisors on educational planning are faced with the diplomatic necessity of seeming to reject or to call into question the host country desires and aspirations.

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(1) Guidelines for the Planning of External Aid Projects in Education, Education and World Affairs, N.Y., 1967, p. 10.

Let us take the case of an education minister who believes that it is in his country's best interests to perpetuate the educational system of the former colonial power, with its static curricula and its excruciating examinations. His interest is in the expansion of that system without regard for quality and to perpetuate the kind of elitism which is very likely to be abandoned in the 'model' itself.

In another case, education authorities request grants for capital aid to construct more facilities for teacher education, or for universities. There is little awareness - except for the hope that further grants will be made - of the heavy recurrent costs of such projects and of the lack of personnel to staff them productively if budget for recurrent costs were available.

In such circumstances, educational planners resort to the development of cost analyses and respond to programme requests with alternate, fiscally feasible, programmes. But without the qualitative analysis of the potential values to be derived, cost analyses can be misleading and superficial.

With the participation of specialists in curriculum, in learning processes, and in evaluation, the values of alternative quality inputs may be ascertained, while we acknowledge the difficulties in assessing the values of a 'discovery' curriculum versus a 'teacher-directed' curriculum, or a 'student-contrast' one, such questions must be faced because they may not require more per pupil costs in one or the other of the options.

Similarly the questions arise of school organization as to grouping of pupils, expansion or 'telescoping' of school years, flexible uses of textbooks and cheap, locally-made materials. When they are treated in the planning contexts and given realistic weight, they will represent educational 'innovation' that is, at last, meaningful and not just a new ingredient in the educational pot au feu.

Such questions may be dealt with as the tasks of compact research and development establishments. They may, however, also be sought out in existing research and development reports and through reasonable modifications brought into 'pilot' stages for on-the-spot replication in developing countries. Problems that could be handled in this manner might be programmed instruction (by book, not by machine!), use of radio for in-service education of

teachers (not necessarily television), improved services of school supervision (not of 'inspection' to report on rather than to help teachers), and more effective educational managers of individual schools (rather than dictational headmasters or directors who 'manage' teachers as if they were obstreperous, untrustworthy pupils).

We urge therefore that planners work to increase enrolments and to encourage policies of innovation and change in educational systems.

They must seek to reduce unit costs and support better management and administrative procedures.

Universities should be expanded and they must focus on development and national interests rather than on elitism.

Teacher supply must be given priority and so must the development of methods and techniques which make economical use of such costly personnel.

Planners must provide for adult education, but literacy can be defined only within social, cultural and economic contexts.

There are numerous other such directions which planners for education in developing countries must take. We agree with William J. Platt when he says:

> "Much educational planning to date has been primarily a statistical exercise of setting and costing educational targets, often based upon inadequate and unreliable data and questionable assumptions ... The old strategy of linear expansion has out-lived its usefulness. The replacing strategy /of educational planning/ must give major emphasis to qualitative reforms promoting the kinds of educational change required to make education adaptable, relevant, efficient and effective."(1)

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(1) Research for Educational Planning: Notes on Emergent Needs, Unesco, International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris, 1970, pp. 40, 45.

Implications for quality concepts in educational planning

Planners of educational systems in developing countries have too long been faced with inadequate and wasteful investments of resources, time and effort.

It is now time to look forward to educational planning which will reflect what we have learned from sober study and intensive analysis:

(a) educational planners cannot function as economists-in-isolation. They must undertake their specialized studies and analyses within a multi-disciplinary context. The work of specialists in sociology, political science, anthropology, and, of course, education, must be sought out. In this respect, the team in educational planning will replace the individual;

(b) educational planners must work in closer proximity to decision-makers with regard to education policy. The participation of community representatives as well as of various wielders of political power must be obtained. It is entirely too wasteful of planners' rare capabilities to permit them to work in luxurious isolation only to have their plans emerge out of context and out of touch with the realities of the national condition. In the future, educational planners will work more openly in contact with all those who have interest in and responsibility for national progress in education;

(c) evaluation of educational output will become the increasing concern of planners, particularly as it reflects the effectiveness of the educational system itself. Increasingly, evaluation of output will be in the form of interventions and assessments within the system to determine educational 'value added'. In such circumstances, the goals of education will have to be made more explicit so that a true determination of student gains with respect to them could be made. Thus, evaluation will be built into planning and will become continual. The net effect will be for a 'rolling planning' to become operative, involving the adaption, modification, and flexibility of existing plans. It will not be necessary, with on-going evaluation and feedback on processes, to produce an 'N-year Plan' and then wait for results at the 'Nth' year or thereafter;

(d) educational planners will need to extend their interests and collaboration ever more closely with the implementation agents of their plans. Planners will become more involved in the structures of educational systems, in the relationships which exist within those structures, in their communications problems, and in implementation processes generally. Plans which are not appropriately implemented or which become inoperative, or 'bottlenecked' by structural or administrative defects become worthless. It is in these areas of systems flow and administrative operations that planning specialists and their colleagues in administration will attempt to conduct facilitation studies;

(e) planning in developed countries has provided knowledge and techniques which are of universal application. In the planning of educational futures in developing countries, we already find new techniques of relevance and great promise. Thus, the potential for continuing to emphasize the close relationship between quantitative and qualitative planning in education is to be found in such innovative procedures as simulation, Delphi methods, model-making, operations research and systems analysis. With such methods, planners are learning to understand better the nature of their tasks and responsibilities. With the development of planning-programming-budgeting procedures (PPBS) and programme evaluation review techniques (PERT), impetus is being given to the improved rationalization of educational planning and to more effective collaboration between planners and implementers;

(f) finally, we look to the possibility of seeing in developing countries the avoidance of 'making the same mistake twice', which was not always available to the now-developed countries. Rather, we anticipate more of the 'giant steps' which some developing countries have experienced. We must learn from history and take full advantage of all our achievements, and if not in educational planning, where can we begin?